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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

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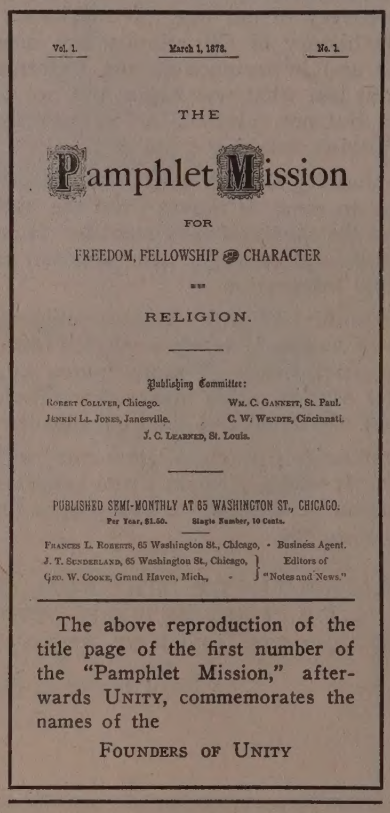

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"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1919 NUMBER 8

AN EASTER CANTICLE.

In every trembling bud and bloom
That cleaves the earth, a flowery sword,
I see thee come from out the tomb,
Thou risen Lord.

In every April wind that sings
Down lanes that make the heart rejoice,
Yea, in the word the wood-thrush brings,
I hear thy voice.

Lo! every tulip is a cup
To hold thy morning's brimming wine;
Drink, O my soul, the wonder up—
Is it not thine?

The great Lord God, invisible,
Hath roused to rapture the green grass;
Through sunlit mead and dew-drenched dell
I see Him pass.

His old immortal glory wakes
The rushing streams and emerald hills;
His ancient trumpet softly shakes
The daffodils.

Thou art not dead! Thou art the whole
Of life that quickens in the sod;
Green April is Thy very soul,
Thou great Lord God.

—*Charles Hanson Towne.*

In speculating about the fundamental causes of the situation in Paris, may not one be permitted to suggest that deeper than all others is the moral law? Four years ago, our western world made deliberate resort to force. It adopted and justified the most horrible methods of evil, that good might be attained. It founded a whole policy of international intrigue and violence on the ground that the end justified the means. Now we are witnessing a trying-out of the question as to whether any results beneficial to anybody can follow upon such action. The victory, purchased at so great a price, was complete. The enemy, so long feared and fought, is now utterly prostrate, dependent upon its conqueros even for the very means of bodily subsistence. There would seem to be no limit, so far as the military situation is concerned, to what the Allied powers can do. And yet there is trouble. Something will not work. A doom seems to rest upon victors and vanquished alike. Is it not possible that a harvest of a sowing is being reaped? Is not the moral law vindicating itself anew? A world long accepting war as justifiable, preparing for it as certain, accepting it as inevitable, is now confronted by the "wages of sin." In other words, Jesus was right—"he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." J. H. H.

Attorney-General Mitchell Palmer has made a most auspicious beginning of his administration in Washington, in forbidding any further secret service work on the part of private societies and individuals. Espionage of this nature, he asserts, "is entirely at variance with our theories of government, and its operation in any community constitutes a grave menace to that feeling of public confidence which is the chief force making for the maintenance of good order." Thus ends the reign of terror which prevailed during the period of the war! Thousands of hysterical individuals, setting themselves up as amateur detectives, chose to do their "bit" by hunting down "heresy" and "treason," and sending reports of their imaginings to Washington. Scores of private organizations marshalled their members as spies, and sent them out to prey upon their unsuspecting fellow-countrymen. Even the infamous business of the *agent provocateur* was not neglected, as witness the proud report of the Seattle "minute men"—"We had a man in the committee that drew up the constitution (of the Workmen's, Soldiers' and Sailors' Council), and when he got through they had a document that would have sent to the penitentiary any man who put his name to it." And all this game of spying was aided and abetted by the late Attorney-General Gregory's department, on the principle apparently that it was better that ninety-nine innocent men should be caught and punished than that one guilty man should escape! This vile system of espionage, copied after the precise model of Russia and Prussia, achieved miracles in spreading discontent and creating disloyalty, but so far as we know unmasked not one *boni fide* German spy. The whole thing constitutes a disgraceful page of war-history; and the country is to be congratulated on having an official intelligent enough, and American enough, to end it forthwith. J. H. H.

Of interest to the entire nation is the recent report of the Reconstruction Committee of New York State, adverse to military training for school-boys. It will be remembered that, in the midst of the war-hysteria two years ago, Gov. Whitman, seeking to use popular excitement to advance his presidential ambitions, secured the enactment of legislation making obligatory in all public and private schools the military training of boys 16, 17 and 18 years of age. Now comes Gov. Smith's Commission with its conclusion that "military training for boys . . . is inadvisable," and its

recommendation that a careful system of physical culture be substituted in its place. Already the Junkers of New York are roaring in anger at this body blow at their pet scheme for the militarization of the state; but already also Gov. Smith has vetoed the $150,000 appropriation for the Military Training Commission. No cleverer or better-informed politician ever sat in the Governor's chair than Mr. Smith; and he knows perfectly well that this action of his is in accordance not merely with the advice of expert educators, but also with the overwhelming sentiment of the people. Coincident with these events in New York is the action of the Oregon legislature in overwhelmingly defeating a bill for compulsory military training in high schools and colleges. Militarism in America is dying fast. The party that identifies itself with the Junker program of universal military training, is doomed in 1920. Fanatics will undoubtedly push the measure in the next Congress, but sober men will see that it is promptly killed. J. H. H.

Strange are the whirligigs of time—and sometimes very rapid! Only a few weeks ago there was introduced into Congress a bill providing for the stoppage of all immigration into this country for a period of four years. Supporters of this proposed measure argued that we had more than enough of these unassimilated aliens. They were un-American, uninterested in American ideals, dangerous to the national welfare in the critical days of reconstruction now before us. Therefore let our gates be closed—and barred! At about this same time the deportation agitation began. Hundreds of foreigners, we were told, of radical and revolutionary tendencies, were being gathered up by the authorities, and sent back to the countries from which they originally came. Great was the public acclamation at this announcement. "America for Americans" was the cry—let the alien stay where he belongs! Now, however, with startling suddenness, the situation is changed. It has been discovered that our foreign residents are seeking to return to Europe faster than passports can be issued or steamboat accommodations be provided. A thousand a day are passing through the port of New York, and other thousands are patiently awaiting their turn to embark! Deportation, in other words, is taking care of itself. Those who are here do not want to stay; and no Burnett Bill will be necessary to shut out those who do not want to come! What an astonishing turn of the wheel of fortune! What wonder that our newspapers, busy so recently in slandering the "dirty foreigner," are busy now in pointing out how indispensable this same foreigner is to the welfare of America! J. H. H.

The appointment of Rev. Minot O. Simons of Cleveland, Ohio, to the headship of the new Department of Church Extension of the American Unitarian Association, is an encouraging sign of the awakening of the Unitarian body to a new sense of spiritual obligation and opportunity. Mr. Simons is one of the ablest ministers in the Unitarian Church, respected and beloved by all his colleagues, accredited with a record of nineteen years of honorable service as pastor and citizen in Cleveland. He can bring new life to Unitarianism, if anybody can. But has not the time definitely gone by for the resuscitation of our denominational bodies? Is not the world done with them for good? The sectarian leaders evidently think not, for they are raising vast campaign funds and launching ambitious programs of advance. But it is the people who always have the last say in these matters. The appalling waste and futility of the Men and Religion Forward movement is not easily to be forgotten. J. H. H.

Our Foreign-Born Residents

The work of Americanizing the foreign-born population of the United States is, I am told, meeting with some success "in certain areas where there have been for a generation or two colonies made up of people from a particular European nation." Perhaps there is in reality no such colony, but there are undoubtedly communities where Germans, or Swedes, or Italians, predominate to such an extent that the older settlers still speak their native tongue, and read it in the journals published in their neighborhood. In such colonies there were to be found before the War large numbers of Europeans who had come to this country with no definite idea of making this their permanent home. Now, if I understand aright the idea of Americanization, it is comprehensive enough to embrace not only the visitor, but the old settler who still sticks to his native tongue, and lives a large part of his life in the thought and custom of his native land. To make a good American of the old settler may be no easy task, for it is extremely difficult to work out a scheme which will have those attractions that will woo him from his antecedents. Custom is tenacious and sticks under all trials. Moreover, the unfortunate methods exercised by so many of our "patriots" during the period of our participation in the War, in dragooning and drilling into these colonists, old and new, ideas and procedures which were anything but American, have not made the task lighter for those who would present the better side of American life and institutions at this time. Of course, it is late in the day to begin this work, but better late than never. It must, however, be remembered that the United States for many generations has

been subject to the influence of European colonization, and these colonies have taken firm root in our soil. It is strange that no one seems to have thought that this work was necessary until we had become a belligerent. And it is a moot question whether the war found us lacking in hospitality or the colonists lacking in patriotism. Still the question of the future of these peoples is one which should concern the community everywhere very seriously. Probably we are face to face with a very grave situation.

It certainly is not easy for the old settler, one who had decided to reside here permanently, to pull up his tent pegs and shake the dust of our land from his feet, but, on the other hand, the visitor may have no compunction about the matter, and be in a position to return to his native land when opportunity permits. This probability is causing some concern in official quarters, and only the other day the Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York said: "The labor situation will be affected by an exodus of men to Europe as soon as passage can be had. The steamship offices are swamped with applications for tickets and for agencies for the sale of tickets. The latter invariably tell of thousands of foreign-born residents who are wanting to return to their former homes to look after relatives or property interests in the countries that have suffered by the War."

It is just as well for us to realize what this means. Think of the condition of Europe east of the Rhine and try, if you can, to imagine anyone who can read European news being anxious to leave this country and return to Central Europe. Certainly the sentiment and emotion must be great that would prompt wage-earners "to return to their former homes to look after relatives or property interests in the countries that have suffered by the War." Still let us grant that many may be moved by filial devotion, and a desire to alleviate the sufferings of their relatives in Europe, but granting all this it is not sufficient to explain the desire of so many to leave this country and return to European areas that are torn by revolution and where rich and poor are daily suffering the pangs of hunger. There must be something else prompting the foreign-born population to emigrate. Let us ask ourselves the question why they came here. It might be answered in this way: they came to the United States of America because of autocratic government, religious tyranny, military discipline, and economic want. These four reasons have always been given in explanation of emigration from Europe to the United States. There is another reason, which may seem absurd to the average American, and that is protection. I, myself, knew a family that left a country in Central Europe because of protection though they knew that America imposed tariff. They did not know until they had had some years experience of our tariffs that they had, as it were, jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire. Still, the foreign-born population came here because they imagined, rightly or wrongly, that this country held for them greater opportunity than they had found in Europe. But the War somehow has made a grievous change, and where, had it been otherwise, contentment might have been their lot, the experiences through which they have passed during these two years have in so many cases been so discouraging that America does not attract them as it did. When they see the same evils rampant here that they flew from in Europe, we cannot wonder much at the enormous demand that is made for passage back across the Atlantic. Therefore, it does seem so necessary that the mission of Americanizing peoples should be extended to those sections of the community which were so energetic under the "tag and button regimes"; those bawling "patriots" who never showed a scintilla of understanding what America was and should always mean to those who love truly democratic institutions. In this regard we are happy to know that the Attorney-General has decided to discountenance some of the private society tyrants who have caused so much ill-feeling and ill-will. Yes, the missioners of the Americanizing plan have an extremely difficult task before them, but if they can make amends by showing that our foreign-born population has not been made to suffer by American ideas, that they were not the victims of the operation of American principles, then, in all probability, a change of mind may take place in those who now seem to be anxiously waiting for the day when they can leave our shores. The restoration of American principles is the one chief work to which this government can turn its hand.

There may be another reason which might explain the desire of these peoples to return to Europe, and it is this: that in a little while countries east of the Rhine may offer greater economic opportunity than this country can offer to its foreign-born population. This is a matter that should be considered deeply at this time. Of course, it seems absurd—in the face of all the discouraging reports that come from the countries torn by revolutions, waiting to be fed by American products—that they will in the near future reach a position so stable that attractive economic opportunity, where there will be democratic government, religious freedom, freedom of trade, and no militarism, will be given to people irrespective of their nationality and creed. Yet these notions are incorporated in the constitutions of several of the new states. True, some of the new states are at present repeating many of the blunders and the evils of the old ones, but these are no new phenomena; France passed through similar experiences, and may not these new states ultimately reach as laudable an order of

government as that of the French? Why not? Revolution, blockade and starvation cannot go on for much longer, for even the French jingoes are beginning to find out that their policies abroad are not conducive to harmony at home. Anyway, it must be obvious to the bitterest war partisan that the countries west of the Rhine are impotent to deal autocratically with the countries east of the Rhine. The signs are manifold that the governments of new states are shortly to be recognized by the Allies, and after recognition, armed intervention being withdrawn, Europe should settle down to the work of production and of restoring international amity.

I see the probability of old Europe in a few years offering great economic opportunities to its people. Now, if these opportunities be greater than those America can offer to her foreign-born populations, what else is there which is sufficiently powerful to keep them here? If, therefore, the mission of Americanizing people could be of a thoroughly fundamental nature, it might very easily become one of the most important missions that has ever been undertaken. If, in attempting to Americanize, it could be shown that the movement was one that could force down the barriers of land monopoly, and open up the vast natural resources of this country to producers, we might in a few years see Ellis Island as busy as it was a generation ago, welcoming to our shores the best brain and sinew of European stocks.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

IMMORTAL.

How living are the dead!
Enshrined, but not apart,
How safe within the heart
We hold them still—our dead,
Whatever else be fled!

Our constancy is deep
Toward those who lie asleep,
Forgetful of the strain and mortal strife
That are so large a part of this our earthly life.

They are our very own;
From them—from them alone,
Nothing can us estrange—
Nor blight autumnal, no; nor wintry change!

The midnight moments keep
A place for them; and though we wake to weep,
They are beside us; still, in joy, in pain—
In every crucial hour, they come again,
Angelic from above—
Bearing the gifts of blessing and of love—
Until the shadowing path they lonely trod
Becomes for us a bridge that upward leads to God.

—*Florence Earle Coates.*

It is a good and safe rule to sojourn in every place as if you meant to spend your life there, never omitting an opportunity of doing a kindness, or speaking a true word. —*John Ruskin.*

CONTRIBUTED

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

The Passing of a Great Liberal

Men are God's trees, says Tennyson in a beautiful line in "Becket," and Laurier was Canada's towering oak. Her forests have no trees left of Laurier's girth.

More than half a century ago the mind of this picturesque man, enriched with incomparable gifts, began definitely to shape itself upon those broad deep principles of human freedom which he had seen inspiring the lives of the great British Liberals. At the age of thirty-six we find Laurier setting forth his political faith to his French compatriots in the city of Quebec in these fine words:

> What is grander than the history of the great English Liberal Party during the present century. On its threshold looms up the figure of Fox, the wise, the generous Fox, espousing the cause of the oppressed. A little later comes O'Connell, claiming and obtaining for his co-religionists the rights and privileges of English subjects. He is helped in this work by all the Liberals of the three kingdoms, Grey, Brougham, Russell, Jeffrey, and a host of others.
>
> Then come, one after the other, the abolition of the ruling oligarchy, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the extension of the suffrage to the working classes, and lastly, to crown the whole, the disestablishment of the Church of England in Ireland.
>
> And note well: the Liberals who carried out these successive reforms were not recruited from the middle classes only, but some of their most eminent leaders were recruited from the peerage of England. I know of no spectacle that reflects greater honor on humanity than the spectacle of these peers of England, these rich and powerful nobles, stubbornly fighting to eradicate a host of venerable abuses, and sacrificing their privileges with calm enthusiasm to make life easier and happier for a larger number of their fellow-beings.

Laurier never lost the light of these earlier years, rather did it illuminate him the more strongly the older he grew. It was his lodestar in the many and varied crises of affairs through which he was destined to pass. Fundamental with him was the principle of religious tolerance and he gave it a liberal interpretation. He believed, with the fervor of a Gladstone or the quiet strength of a Morley, not alone that religious beliefs were to be held sacred, but that the mother tongue of men and women, their traditional outlook upon life, their peculiarities and even their prejudices were entitled to respect and generous treatment. In the varying and almost impossible problems which such conditions seemed perpetually to be precipitating, Laurier's mind was constantly searching for solutions upon lines of genuine liberalism.

The fact that Laurier was a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic did not make his task easier. And if through four successive administrations, extending over fifteen years, he was the Prime Minister of the Dominion, this was due far more, if the truth must be told, to his own transcendent gifts than to Anglo-Saxon large-heartedness. Throughout his lengthy term of office Laurier had constantly to meet attacks from two sides. To the Ultra-nationalists of Quebec he was prepared to sacrifice Canada to British imperialism. To the English-speaking Jingoes of Toronto and Winnipeg he was almost a traitor to the Empire. To the Liberal manufacturers of the East he was too much of a free-trader. To the Liberal farmers of the West he was too much of a protectionist. To

the Orangemen he was in league with the Pope to enthrall Canada. To the Ultramontanes he was a Protestant in disguise.

But through it all Laurier preserved a proverbial serenity. Laurier and sunnyness grew to be synonymous terms. It has been said of him that his ideal of happiness was to work, to content oneself with little, to lose without bitterness and to grow old without regret. Few men have died on this continent leaving behind them such love in the hearts of their fellows, and this not only amongst his own people but in all the races which compose Canada. Laurier was a knight before he received his title, if knighthood means to be gentle, to be fearless, to be drawn instinctively towards the underdog and to have a profound respect for the dignity of human personality.

When the mortal remains of this great Canadian were borne from the Parliament building to the cemetery at Ottawa, the long route was lined on either side with dense masses of mourners. From every corner of Canada men and women who loved Laurier had repaired to the capital, and such numbers had arrived that all the hotels and lodging houses of Ottawa were utterly unable to shelter them. Nothing like it had ever been seen before in Canada.

Nature gave Laurier personal gifts and magnetism of a high order. Even to see that tall ascetic figure with its white locks was an inspiration and something not to be forgotten. The stranger in the street invariably turned to take another glance. His figure always dominated a crowd and arrested attention. He had about him that intangible indescribable charm of the French-Canadian character. An orator in his own beautiful French, he was equally fluent in the rich English idiom. If any man was ever an aristocrat by nature it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

It is not, in my opinion, in the heyday of Laurier's political success that his greatness shone forth most brightly. The period 1896-1911, during which he was Prime Minister, was characterized chiefly by material expansion. The big tasks in hand consisted of railroad building, attraction of immigrants, land settlement, trade promotion, etc. In the carrying out of all this important development work Laurier surrounded himself with able administrators. In these years fortune seemed to favor Laurier and he and his colleagues were frequently referred to by their political friends as a ministry of all the talents.

During this period, however, idealism of any kind was at a distinct discount in Canada. Conversation in hotel rotundas and in the smoking compartments of transcontinental trains ran along the lines of real estate values, figures of population, of bank clearances, of building permits and company earnings. It was a golden age in one sense only.

Yet even in these years Laurier had opportunities to put in practice the principles he had at heart. During the bitter fight, for instance, over the formation of the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, he insisted upon some respect being paid to the French Catholic minority. A generous preference of one-third of the common tariff was given to the United Kingdom in the teeth of bitter opposition from the Canadian Imperialists, because many of them happened also to be manufacturers. Other tariff reductions took place, but it must be frankly admitted that during his term of office Laurier keenly disappointed his free-trade friends. Promises made during the election campaign of 1896, when he succeeded to power, were certainly not carried out.

Rather was it on his many visits to Great Britain, where he was invariably accorded an enthusiastic reception, that Laurier rendered Canada exceptional service. If Mr. A. G. Gardiner is right in describing Imperialism as "the principle of death in the affairs of men," then Laurier may well be said to have saved Canada from spiritual decay. Always Laurier set his face against proposals, when they implied, in his opinion, interference in Canadian affairs by other portions of the Empire.

If Laurier failed to meet his obligations in regard to free trade while in power, he paid his debt to the uttermost farthing by going down to defeat in 1911 on the proposal to establish reciprocal free trade in natural products with the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty implied much, and Laurier's opponents contended, not without some truth, that if free trade between Canada and the United States was to be established in natural products, strong influences would be released tending to lower the tariff in other directions also.

In the reciprocity election Laurier lost a number of seats in the Province of Quebec to the French Nationalists, a new political party inspired by Henri Bourassa. The spirit which animated these men was suspicion of the British connection and they bore general enmity to all things Anglo-Saxon. After the election Mr. Bourassa produced unchallengeable and unchallenged evidence showing that the Nationalist campaign in Quebec had been financed in part by prominent members of Sir Robert Borden's party. That is to say: men who in Ontario and other Provinces were proclaiming from the housetops their loyalty to the British connection and demanding the defeat of the Reciprocity Pact, because, they alleged, it would endanger that connection, were secretly financing an anti-British campaign in Quebec for the purpose of defeating Laurier!

Laurier lost many influential followers through his espousal of reciprocity and the next few years brought another breach with his party. This came over Canada's eternal school question. It is an unfortunate fact that the war years and the years immediately preceding the war have seen a recrudescence of racial intolerance in Canada. Laurier's first act on assuming power in 1896 had been the settlement of the vexed Manitoba School Question, a controversy the reverberations of which extended to the whole English-speaking world. This question was the immediate cause of the general election of 1896. The Privy Council in London, the last court of resort in the British Empire, had decided that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority, French and Irish, of Manitoba, had been affected by provincial legislation. But it was competent, the judgment ran, for the Dominion Government, through remedial legislation, to repair any wrong done.

The Conservative Government of the day, headed by Sir Charles Tupper, actually proposed to the Canadian electors the coercion of Manitoba and the forcing upon her of a system of separate schools. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in effect said: No, I will not consent to the coercion of Manitoba. If I am called to power I will settle the controversy by negotiation. He *was*

called to power and he *did* settle it by negotiation. During the election campaign, however, Laurier had to face in Quebec the almost frenzied opposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Nevertheless he carried the Province of Quebec with him and it was none other than Roman Catholic Quebec that gave him his working majority. As the *Toronto Globe* well says in its editorial upon his death: "He risked all in Quebec in opposition to the coercion of Manitoba at a time when an English-speaking Protestant Premier was prepared to force separate schools upon the unwilling people of that Province."

The racial question in Ontario, always simmering, boiled over again in 1912, when it was sought drastically to abridge the rights of the French in the schools of their districts. For many months some thousands of children in the city of Ottawa were withdrawn from school and over a hundred teachers went without salaries. Long after the war started the situation in Ontario actually was that under the strict text of the school law the German language had a more favorable position than had French.

In Manitoba the almost unbelievable happened. The great struggle of 1896, already referred to, ended in a settlement arranged by Laurier, on behalf of the Dominion Government, and by provincial ministers on behalf of Manitoba. Under it the French were granted certain language and religious rights in the schools. This agreement was regarded at the time as an estoppel of further controversy. Yet in 1916, at a time when French and British were fighting side by side on the fields of Flanders, these residuary rights of the French population in Manitoba, in so far as they related to the French language, were entirely abolished. The French, the original colonizers of Canada, whose explorers were the first to discover the Red River, whose missionaries were the first to face the rigors of the Northwest, were left without one statutory shred of right to their own language in the schools of French districts of Manitoba of which they were the first settlers.

Only two or three months ago, in the Province of Saskatchewan, a very slender right of the French to the use of their language in the schools has been made still more exiguous.

The racial controversy in Ontario was brought, in May, 1916, to the attention of the Canadian House of Commons by what is known as the Lapointe Resolution. The latter asked the Canadian Parliament to express to the Ontario Legislature its sense, that while the necessity of giving every child a thorough English education was recognized, it was unwise, especially in view of the war, to interfere with the privileges of the French in the use of their mother tongue in the schools.

When it became known that Laurier intended to support the Lapointe Resolution the significance of the situation was widely recognized. Influential Liberals journeyed to Ottawa to convince Laurier of the error of his ways and I have been assured that no stone was left unturned to get the veteran chieftain to reconsider his decision. But Laurier remained firm. My people are being oppressed, was the sense of his reply to all overtures.

The debate on the Lapointe Resolution was one of the great occasions of Laurier's life. When he spoke there was a large attendance in the House, and in the galleries every seat and every inch of standing room was taken. In his speech he reviewed the relations between the French and English races in Canada since the conquest on the Heights of Abraham. He referred again to "those principles of British Liberalism advocated in their time by Fox, by O'Connell and by Gladstone, and cardinal among which was the protection of minorities."

Laurier recalled that he had been for twenty-eight years at the head of the Canadian Liberal Party. "I have been at their head," he said, "in good report and ill report; in victory and in defeat, and in many an arduous agitation, but I think I can affirm here, where my record is open to discussion, that at no time in any of those discussions, in any of those agitations, have I appealed either to race or to creed. I have endeavored on every occasion to find a solution by appealing to the consciences of all men who love freedom, justice and tolerance."

The whole speech is of surpassing interest, but the following further quotation must suffice:

> I am proud, as a British subject, to say that today the Dutchman of South Africa is just as free to speak his language and to have his children educated in his language as he was before the South African War. All that I have to ask my fellow-Canadians of the Province of Ontario is, which example are we going to follow? Which is the best polity for Canada? Is it the German polity? No one will say that.
>
> Well, then, will it not be the British polity, which for two centuries or more has been invariably followed in every part of the globe? I could follow the whole circle of the earth and everywhere I would find the same story repeated by every British subject, no matter what his origin, no matter whether he is in Malta, where he speaks the Italian language, or in St. Lucia, in the West Indies, where he speaks the French language, or in South Africa, where he speaks the Dutch language, nay, even whether in India, where he speaks languages almost without number. . . .
>
> If the Britisher, when he went to India, to Malta, to South Africa, or anywhere else, had implanted that new doctrine of "one language and one language only," and had suppressed the language of the people who had just passed under his dominion, do you believe, sir, you would have seen that great and noble spectacle which has astonished and is still astonishing the world? No, sir. It is because British institutions everywhere have carried freedom and respect for minorities that England is as strong as she is today.

All this was in accord with what Laurier had been saying throughout a long life. Of any narrow or aggressive nationalism he had not been seriously suspected. As long ago as 1889 he said, speaking to a Toronto audience:

> If any there are amongst my fellow countrymen of French origin who have ever dreamed of forming themselves into a small community of Frenchmen on the banks of the St. Lawrence, I am not one of them.

Ten years later, speaking in Nova Scotia, he pictured this fine ideal of national unity:

> I want the marble to remain the marble; I want the granite to remain the granite; I want the oak to remain the oak; I want the sturdy Scotchman to remain the Scotchman; I want the brainy Englishman to remain the Englishman; I want the warm-hearted Irishman to remain the Irishman; I want to take all these elements and build a nation that will be foremost amongst the great powers of the world.

On the Lapointe Resolution Laurier's western supporters deserted him, and a year and a half later came the fatal general election on conscription. It is impossible to close without a review of his part in that campaign.

As to Laurier's attitude to the war it may be sufficient to note that the *New York Times*, in an editorial

tribute which certainly does not err on the side of generosity, says: "He earnestly supported the Entente in the war." This is the simple truth. Laurier's recruiting speeches were amongst the most eloquent and ardent of those delivered in the Dominion.

A life long opponent of militarism in all its forms, Laurier said from the start that he would oppose conscription for Canada except after a referendum carrying it. Why he should have been assailed so bitterly for assuming this position, and especially by some of his erstwhile supporters, is difficult to understand. Laurier confessed, himself, he could not understand it. The British Government, for sufficient reasons, had exempted Ireland from the draft. The people of Australia had voted upon conscription and had defeated it. Later they defeated it again. On the second occasion, if not on the first, the Australian soldiers themselves voted against conscription. Great newspapers, like the *Manchester Guardian, The Westminster Gazette, The London Daily Chronicle* and *The Liverpool Daily Post,* strongly opposed the application of conscription to Ireland, and *The Manchester Guardian,* at least, doubted the wisdom of applying it to Canada.

Laurier contended, in the first place, that conscription in Canada was unnecessary and that voluntary recruiting had never been given a fair chance. There is much evidence to support this view. In the first months of the war Laurier wrote to Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden suggesting that the plan of the British War Office of recruiting "ethnical elements" be carried out in Canada. In the same letter Laurier expressed his readiness "to assist in any way that may be deemed advisable" in the carrying out of his suggestion, and to advise at any time with regard to it. Sir Robert Borden approved of this proposal, but it was never carried out, and Laurier complained during the election campaign that his suggestion had been ignored.

The attempts made to obtain recruits in the Province of Quebec were to say the least remarkable. In the city of Montreal, the population of which is at least two-thirds French Roman Catholic, a Methodist clergyman was made the chief recruiting officer. Other cases are cited in which English-speaking Protestant ministers were used as recruiting agents in French Catholic Quebec. I have been informed from what I believe is a reliable source that the recruiting of a French-Canadian regiment by Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General in Sir Robert Borden's pre-coalition cabinet, was deliberately called off at a time when its recruiting was proceeding favorably, in order that the regiment might not be cited as an argument against conscription. One prominent Liberal daily, *The Manitoba Free Press,* which afterward went over to the conscriptionists, said of the manner in which Sir Robert Borden introduced conscription: "The theory that it was intended to destroy Laurier is by no means farfetched."

In the second place Laurier contended that conscription would never work in Canada. The question therefore arises: Did it work? Let *The Toronto Globe,* a "Liberal" newspaper, which after repeatedly pointing out in its editorial columns that conscription in Canada was "an impossibility," gave conscription a wholehearted support, supply the answer. On March 29, 1919, in an editorial reviewing the re-working of the Military Service Act, *The Globe* said:

> The Act yielded 50,944 men, but the fact that in some districts where opposition to it was pronounced less than 2 per cent of those who registered were actually placed on duty indicates that the desired quota was not raised because the law was not adequately enforced. There were too many exemptions, too many appeals by eligible men, too many defaulters, and too many officials out of sympathy with compulsory service.

Could Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position be more thoroughly vindicated? Under voluntary enlistment between three and four hundred thousand men were procured for the Canadian Expeditionary Force. The conscription act, operating for more than a year, produced a total of 50,944 men!

The shrill cry raised by the anti-Laurier press not to desert the boys at the front, responded to in all sincerity by large numbers of Canadians, was not an honest one. During the very months when conscription was being enforced in Canada every available vessel on the ocean did not suffice to carry across the soldiers of the United States, which country entered the war two and a half years after Canada. The British Government scoured the seven seas for tonnage wherewith to transport American troops and it took ships from other services the world over.

In the third place Laurier foresaw that conscription in Canada would work a racial tragedy. That tragedy has come and lacks nothing of anything Laurier could have imagined. In a conscription riot on the streets of Quebec City several people were killed and others were wounded. Racial sores that had been healing for a quarter of a century have been torn open and are today hideously agape. Passion during the election was at white heat. A Canadian friend wrote to me afterwards and said: "We lived through it somehow." The Liberal Party has been rent in twain and reconciliation between those who supported Laurier and those who forsook him will be a long and weary process.

With the enactment of conscription went the disfranchisement of all Canadians coming to the Dominion within the previous fifteen years from an enemy country, no matter how long they had been citizens of Canada. This step has caused great bitterness amongst the non-English-speaking population, and so ominous was the measure that some newspapers heartily in favor of conscription protested against it.

The result of the conscription election of December 17, 1917, was nothing short of a racial tragedy. In the Province of Quebec sixty-two Laurier Liberals and three Unionist Government supporters were elected. In English-speaking Canada, on the other hand, the Unionist Government had 148 supporters and Laurier only twenty. Amongst the eighty-two Laurier Liberals elected there were but sixteen Protestants. Amongst the 148 Unionist Government candidates elected there were but half a dozen Roman Catholics. In the Unionist following there was one solitary French-Canadian, while in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's following a large majority were French-Canadians.

Today the position of Canada is not one that can be contemplated with a quiet mind by those who love her. The daily press is without leadership and is distrusted and suspected. Everywhere there is unrest and apprehension. The soldiers are returning in ugly mood. Not readily finding employment they have

launched indiscriminate attacks against the foreign population. In Winnipeg within recent weeks little short of a pogrom was organized against aliens the vast majority of whom were absolutely harmless and innocent persons. Many of them were mishandled and much property was destroyed. Similar attacks on the foreign population have occurred in Toronto and Halifax. In the past Canada has been dogged by racial troubles, but she is now faced by such a complexity of these problems as to make one almost despair of the future. "We are still a divided nation," exclaimed the Hon. George Langley, cabinet minister in the Saskatchewan Legislature, the other day in hopeless tones.

It is not suggested that conscription is responsible for all Canada's present problems. Certain it is, however, that conscription has aggravated these problems, and it is equally certain that if Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy had been followed the future would be far less dark, while not a soldier the less would have been landed from this side on the soil of France.

In the foregoing I have tried to show that Laurier's highest service to Canada has been rendered since his laying down of political power. His retirement from office followed an unsuccessful attempt to put into practice a broad measure based on the liberal principle of free trade, without the universal extension of which the peace of the world can never be secure.

His breach with his party widened over the question of the rights of religious and racial minorities, another great principle of historic liberalism. And finally we see his venerable and noble figure, bent with the weight of seventy-six summers, making a desperate effort, traveling from one end of Canada to the other in the midst of a northern winter, to avert a supreme tragedy to his native land.

I believe that when the final verdict upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier comes to be written, the historian will find his name not the least honorable of those which figured in the great War. Of him I doubt not it will be said:

> Made of unpurchaseable stuff,
> He went the ways when ways were rough.

A. VERNON THOMAS.

The Kingdom of God

Humanity is a varying, changeable thing at the mercy of contradictory desires. Great is Country; its saints are the heroes of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Valmy, and of Fleurns. Country, however, is not everything here below. One is man and Son of God before being Frenchman or German. The Kingdom of God, eternal dream which will never be torn from the heart of man, is a protest against a too exclusive patriotism. The thought of an organization of humanity, in view of its greatest happiness and its moral amelioration, is Christian and legitimate. The State knows but one thing—how to organize egotism. . . . That is not sufficient. Governments which have started with the belief that man is swayed only by his instincts of cupidity, are deceived. Devotion is as natural as egotism to the man of a noble race, and the organization of devotion is religion.—*Ernest Renan.*

News from Europe

French Labor and the League.—

A placard has been posted throughout Paris by the General Federation of Labor, entitled "An Appeal to Public Opinion and the Workers." It contains the following reference to the League of Nations:

"Our diplomats offer us a project of a League of Nations which is not the Society of Nations such as was prescribed in the fourteen points of President Wilson. The peoples of the entire world in their thirst for justice acclaimed these fourteen points, and we accepted them. The French working class, faithful to its conception of a war on war, rises against the sabotage of peace."

The placard condemns the policy of blockade constraints, and political and armed interventions. It protests against the expedition to Russia and asks for the conclusion of a real peace to which all peoples can subscribe.

Palestine and a Jewish Home.—

Dr. Weizman presented the case of the Zionist delegation before the Council of Ten at the Paris Conference. His speech made a very favorable impression, but there can be no doubt that in essentials the claim for a Jewish home in Palestine is regarded everywhere as just, and it will undoubtedly receive the support of the Peace Conference.

Dr. Weizman did not go into the controversial details of frontiers, but confined himself to an exposition of the main outlines of the scheme. He asks for a Palestine State under a British mandatory, to which Jews from the various European countries shall be admitted in regulated order.

There are fourteen million Jews in the world, and there will be room for about two million of them in Palestine. There are already 100,000 there. Care will have to be taken that a sudden unregulated inrush of settlers does not upset the working of the whole project. It is estimated that 50,000 immigrants could be satisfactorily assimilated every year. It is quite remarkable how town-bred Jews from Central Europe have adapted themselves to the new life and devoted themselves successfully and happily to intensive agriculture.

Zionists are quite willing for the Christian and Moslem holy places to remain permanently in Christian and Moslem hands.

Socialist Parties in Russia Unite.—

The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent at Paris sheds some light on the subject of the Socialist factions in Russia. He says:

I learn that the important documents published in the *Humanité* do not come from Bolshevik sources, but from a bureau here in the hands of Social Revolutionaries. There is therefore no question of their authenticity. To appreciate their importance it is necessary to recall the history of the Socialist parties in Russia.

There were originally two parties—the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats. Some years ago the second party broke into two, which were known later as Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The first, under Lenin, preached the gospel of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The second, under Plekanoff, advocated democratic development.

Then the Bolsheviks seized power. The elections returned a Social Revolutionary majority. The Bolsheviks dissolved the Assembly and persecuted the Social Revolutionaries. After Brest-Litovsk there was a very bitter quarrel between the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks on the one side and the Bolsheviks on the other. The former appealed to the Allied Socialists to support intervention against Germany.

The situation has now completely changed. These two Socialist parties have decided to support the Bolsheviks, in spite of their bitter quarrel, against an intervention which they regard as directed against the Revolution. They began to take fright at the time of the *coup d'état* at Omsk.

The situation today is, then, that all the democratic parties are united. The first result has been the decree abolishing the arbitrary powers of the special tribunals. If the situation is handled wisely we may see the disappearance both of the terror and of war. If it is handled wrongly, the League of Nations may start on its career with a war against democracy on behalf of reaction.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

TROPICAL AFRICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The problem of tropical Africa has been largely overlooked in America where, in the peace settlement, attention has been focused on Dantsic, the Rhine, and the Adriatic. But, fifty years hence, the decisions made today affecting this huge, rich area may overshadow all others in importance.

E. D. Morel, the eminent English expert on this region, calls attention to the fact that the British Empire and France purpose excluding Germany from all Africa and taking over her great dependencies as mandatories. Now the "potential" wealth of three out of four of her dependencies is said to "far exceed the total war debt of Europe." No impartial tribunal would expel Germany from Africa on the ground of her administration having been so much worse than that of other nations.

Germany's requirements for increasing quantities of raw materials and food will be as great as those of other nations, but as yet there is no certainty that under the League she is to be able to even purchase African raw products unrestricted. France controls in Africa enormous areas to which she will now add another area as mandatory taken as the result of military success.

The peoples of African tropics by whomsoever their lands may be dominated should now all be neutralized and placed beyond danger of future European wars. Definite international enactments by the League should prohibit conscription of its men for soldiers, and only local police forces should be sanctioned. Citizens of every country should be allowed to trade with inhabitants on equal footing, and the welfare of the nations should be the primary consideration. Could Germany have free access to raw material, she might without too much bitterness forego the ownership and expensive upkeeps of her lost colonies. But if she is kept out of equal opportunities of trade, the fruitful sources of future war will at once appear. Intensive capitalistic exploitation threatens the vast areas in this rich continent; now is the critical time in which to ensure the proper treatment of millions of backward peoples who must be guaranteed possession of their soil, their rights in their land, the fruits of their toil. The white race with rare exceptions has cruelly oppressed the black since Ethiopic slaves dug treasures for the fair Queen of Sheba. Since then millions have been wiped out and atrocities have cried to high heaven wherever slave drivers, rubber and gold exploiters and avaricious white men have had their way.

At the first meeting of the League, which will be called by President Wilson, one of the most important measures to be considered will be the marking out of a new world policy to apply to the colonies of the conquered in harmony with that to be prescribed for the colonies of conquered Germany. Only thus can future justice and permanent peace be secured and the atrocities of the jungle disappear in the glare of publicity which League commissioners and census takers ought to create.

What tropical Africa needs today is another Sir George Grey, that genial, whole-souled administrator of by-gone years whose portrait in the British National Portrait Gallery holds a place of honor. On one occasion he desired to build a road through unbroken territory of a certain chief who strenuously objected. He smilingly yielded but sent to England for a fine carriage and span and gallantly presented to the chief's best wife. It was at once found necessary to build a road that she might take an airing. The end was gained without bluster, rifles, a plain covered with corpses and the long rancor of an outraged people. Sir Andrew Clake, for twenty years the wise adviser of wild Malays on whom he quietly and shrewdly worked miracles of civilization, and our own Major Finley, who wrought equal miracles among the people of Sulu, are the type of men who have many counterparts which war needs have brought to light. The ethics of the "fourteen points" mark a new era in human relationships. The primary duty of civilization is to see that they are made applicable everywhere, whether among the conquerors or the conquered.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Lloyd George and the Pilgrim Fathers.—

A well-known English novelist is about to write a film play on the story of the Mayflower and the Pilgrim Fathers, and a leading British film firm will produce the play for presentation to the public on both sides of the Atlantic in connection with the Mayflower tercentenary celebrations next year. Mr. Lloyd George, in a letter relative to the production, says:

"I am glad to hear that the Free Churches are preparing to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the sailing of the Mayflower from our shores. Three hundred years ago this little group of pioneers braved a new world, and carried with them to New Plymouth the Anglo-Saxon ideals of justice and liberty.

"We recall the Pilgrim Fathers with reverence for what they were and with gratitude for what has come back to us from the America of today. At this momentous time, when America is indissolubly linked with us in extending liberty all over the world, the official kinematograph of the Mayflower story will do much to show the people both of America and of this country what we together owe to our forefathers, to quicken their love of liberty, and to establish that peace for which the descendants of the men of the Mayflower have fought and died side by side with our British sons."

Naval Losses of Belligerents.—

A Reuter telegram from Paris states:

Although no official statement of the war losses incurred by the navies of the Allies and the Central Powers has yet been published, the following figures from an authoritative source give some idea of the respective losses:

Great Britain: Battleships, 13; battle cruisers, 3; cruisers, 25; monitors, 6; destroyers, 64; torpedo boats, 10; submarines, 50; small craft, 27; total, 550,000 tons.

France: Battleships, 4; cruisers, 5; destroyers, 14; torpedo boats, 8; submarines, 14; small craft, 9; total, 110,000 tons.

Italy: Battleships, 3; cruisers, 2; monitor, 1; destroyers, 10; torpedo boats, 5; submarines, 8; total, 76,000 tons.

Japan: Battleship, 1; cruisers, 4; destroyers, 5; torpedo boat, 1; total, 50,000 tons.

United States: Cruiser, 1; destroyers, 2; submarine, 1; total, 17,000 tons.

Total for all the Allies, 803,000 tons.

Enemy losses are as follows:

Germany: Battleship, 1; battle cruiser, 1; cruisers, 24; destroyers, 72; torpedo boats, 51; submarines, 205; total, 350,000 tons.

Austria-Hungary: Battleships, 3; cruisers, 2; monitors, 3; destroyers, 5; torpedo boats, 4; submarines, 8; total, 65,000 tons.

Total for the Central Powers: 415,000 tons.

These figures include vessels lost through accident as well as those sunk through enemy action.

Irish Soldiers and Home Rule.—A memorial signed by two Generals, three Colonels, seven Majors, forty-two Captains and eighty-four other officers, all war-service veterans, was sent to the Prime Minister for presentation to the King, praying His Majesty's assistance in laying Ireland's claim to self-government before the Peace Conference.

The memorial begins by drawing attention to the great number of Irishmen serving in the Allied forces. Then it proceeds:

"In our opinion Ireland as a nation has been robbed of her treaty rights and the Irish people as a race reduced to the position of helots by the withholding of that which is in virtue the citizenship they had won by constitutional action.

"Of those for whom we speak, the survivors feel that their reliance on the Home Rule compact was ill-founded, and that their comrades who have given their lives in that reliance have made a sacrifice fruitless up to the present of benefit for the fatherland that they loved."

The document closes with the submission to the King that "the issue between the Kingdom of Ireland and the Kingdom of Great Britain should not, either in expediency or natural justice, be finally determined by Ministers who represent the preponderant British majority in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but by an impartial tribunal, such as that now sitting in Paris."

FRANCIS NEILSON.

A LONDON OPINION

Spoken March 23, 1919

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